REPORT

OF THE

THIRD ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD IN

GRANVILLE, LICKING COUNTY, OHIO,

On the 30th of May, 1838.

CINCINNATI:
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SAMUEL A. ALLEY, PRINTER.
1838.

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MINUTES.

The Third Anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, was held at Granville, Licking co., Ohio, commencing Wednesday, May 30th, 1838.

The Delegates convened in the Presbyterian church, and were called to order by Robert Stewart, of Ross co., at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Rev. Wm. Beecher made a few remarks, and followed them with prayer.

Hon. Leicester King, of Trumbull co., President of the Society, took the chair.

After a short address by the President, George Whipple, of Oberlin, and George W. Warner, of Massillon, were appointed Secretaries.

On motion of Joseph A. Dugdale,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to receive and enrol the names of the members of this Convention, together with the names and localities of the Societies which they represent.

On motion of the same,

Resolved, That all persons who approve of the principle, that *immediate emancipation, without expatriation*, is the right of the slave and the duty of the master, be requested to offer their names as members of this Convention.

On motion, the following Committees were appointed:

Committee to enrol the names of members,—Joseph A. Dugdale, Joseph H. Payne.

Committee to prepare business for the meeting,—John Monteith, Edward Weed, Gamaliel Bailey, George W. Warner, and A. A. Guthrie.

Committee on Resolutions,—John Rankin, Wm. Beecher, Samuel Galloway, Edward Turner, George Whipple.

Committee on Political Action,—Robt. Stewart, Eli Nichols, Horace Nye, Rees E. Price, Gamaliel Bailey.

Committee on the Nomination of Officers,—E. Weed, Augustus. Wattles, W. W. Bancroft, John Monteith, Lorenzo D. Butts.

Rev. Wm. H. Beecher offered and supported the following resolutions, which were subsequently adopted.

Resolved, That the inculcation of the sentiments embodied in our Constitution, is emphatically but a re-affirmation of those fundamental principles first promulgated in the law of God, and from it incorporated into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of Ohio.

The Society then adjourned, to meet in the same place at 2 o'clock, P. M.

2 o'clock, P. M.

The meeting having been called to order by the President, Mr. Monteith presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed to report on the best plan of operations for the future, and to define the relations between this Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The resolution was adopted, and the following persons constituted said committee: Gamaliel Bailey, John Monteith, Edward Weed, Robert Stewart, W. W. Bancroft, J. B. Walker, A. Cady, Horace Nye, George Whipple.

On motion of A. A. Guthrie, John Purdy and A. F. Hanna were appointed a committee to audit the accounts of the Executive Committee.

Samuel Galloway offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That the friends of Immediate Emancipation claim to be actuated by motives of the highest philanthrophy, and that this claim will be recognized when the principles of civil and religious liberty shall be respected and loved. [Adopted.]

The President then introduced Rev. Alexander Rankin, who addressed the meeting in reply to some objections frequently urged against our operations.

Rev. Edward Weed offered and supported the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That the immediate abolition of slavery in the United States would advance the interests of the slave, the slave-holder, our whole nation and the world.

On motion of Mr. Weed, a committee of one was appointed to receive payments of old pledges, and to take new pledges from those who should be compelled to leave before the final adjournment of the Convention. Stephen S. Guthrie was appointed the committee.

Mr. Galloway read to the Convention a letter from Hon. Thomas Morris, addressed to Col. Wm. Keys.

On motion,

Resolved, That it be placed in the hands of the Executive Committee, to be published with the proceedings of the Convention, provided the consent of the writer be obtained.

Convention took a recess till half past seven, P. M.

Half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

The Convention was called to order by the President.

Rev. John Rankin addressed the Convention on the Duty of the Church in reference to prejudice against color.

Rev. J. Blanchard presented and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That the property-holding power, by which every master holds his slave, is a sin in itself, and ought to be so regarded by all christians.

On motion, adjourned till Thursday morning at 8 o'clock.

Thursday, 8 o'clock, A. M.

President in the chair. Rev. Moses Scott addressed the Throne of Grace.

On motion of Horace Nye, a committee of six were appointed on the Phi-

lanthropist and Depository. The committee was composed of the following gentlemen: Samuel White, William Gage, William Lee, James Boyle, J. B. Walker, James Austin.

The Committee on Political Action presented their report, which was ordered to be read. The report was accepted, and article by article adopted.

REPORT.

The Committee on Political Action deem it necessary simply to report the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That this Convention entertain the same opinions as ever in regard to the truth of the sentiment expressed in the Declaration of Sentiments put forth by the Convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, —a sentiment repeated in the second article of the Constitution of said Society, and, in general terms, incorporated into the Constitution of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society,—to wit, that Congress by the Federal Constitution has no right to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the States. [Adopted unanimously.]

2. *Resolved*, That this Convention does hereby record its full and solemn sanction to the following sentiment contained in the Declaration of Sentiments referred to in the foregoing resolution,—

"Our principles lead us to reject, and entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons, for (their) deliverance from bondage; relying solely on those which are spiritual, and mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." [Adopted with but one dissenting voice.]

3. *Resolved*, That nothing in the foregoing resolution is intended to prevent, blame, or discountenance in any way, the exercise by abolitionists of their rights of suffrage in obedience to their anti-slavery principles. [Adopted unanimously.]

4. *Resolved*, That this Convention fully believes in the propriety and great importance of questioning candidates for office, on all those points connected with our enterprise, concerning which they may be legitimately called upon to act officially; so that the right of suffrage may be exercised on enlightened grounds. [Adopted unanimously.]

5. *Resolved*, That all abolitionists who believe in the lawfulness of our representative governments, are sacredly bound by their principles, so to bestow their suffrages, as to promote the election to Congress of men, whose sentiments are known to be decidedly favorable to the right of petition, the liberty of speech and the press, the right and duty of Congress to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and Territories, its constitutional power over the slave-trade between the states, and its solemn duty to prevent the extension of slavery by the admission into the Union of any new slave-state, or territory; and also, to promote the election of men to the Legislature, who will advocate the removal of the legal disabilities under which our colored brethren now labor, and the extension of the right of jury-trial to all cases involving personal liberty, and who believe that it is the duty of Congress to grant petitioners on all subjects an attentive hearing, provided their petitions be couched in respectful language; that it has the power, and ought, to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and that it ought not to

grant admission to any new slave-state or territory into our Union;—provided always, that in thus bestowing their suffrages, they violate none of the fundamental principles of morality. [Adopted unanimously.]

6. *Resolved*, That this Convention is opposed to every measure that looks towards a separate political organization; because it is an experiment which has never been tried and is therefore uncertain; because in all the resolutions of our national and state societies, it has never been countenanced; because it would render our motives suspected, place abolitionists in the attitude of political partisans, fighting for office, honor, and power, and thus corrupt their ranks by filling them up with selfish and unprincipled adventurers, and tempting them to resort to the ordinary machinery of partisan warfare—tricks, misrepresentation, and calumny; because it would divert their energies from the promotion of anti-slavery principles to the concoction of schemes for their own aggrandizement; because it would effectually prevent the reformation of public sentiment they contemplate, by utterly subverting their present party-attachments and sympathies, which afford so many channels for reaching the hearts and minds of their associates, and substituting, in their place, a mass of hostile feeling, the unfailing product of a strife for offices of trust, power or profit, which would defeat all attempts on the part of abolitionists to conciliate the good will or confidence of their political opponents; be cause, finally, it would engender internal dissensions, jealousies, and at length, open division among themselves; for, being composed of seceders from the great parties which now divide the country, they would naturally array themselves in obedience to their party-affinities, and oppose or support abolition candidates according to their political creed. [Adopted unanimously.]

8. *Resolved*, That it is recommended to the State Executive Committee to question candidates for the governorship, and that it be recommended to the executive committees or managers of the county societies, to perform the same duty in relation to all candidates (for county offices and) for seats in the Legislature and in Congress. [This was amended by striking out the clause in parenthesis, and then adopted unanimously.]

9. *Resolved*, That the subjoined questions be published, as indicating the course we recommend.

1st, Have Congress the power constitutionally to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and ought they to do it?

2d, Have Congress the constitutional power to abolish the internal slave-trade, and should they exercise it?

3d, Have Congress the power to abolish slavery in the Territories of this Union, and should they exercise it?

4th. Have Congress power to prevent the admission ofany new slave-holding state into the Union, and should they exercise it?

5th, Ought the Legislature of Ohio to repeal all laws making distinctions between the rights of white and colored citizens, and if not, which one of these oppressive laws should continue to disgrace our statute books?

6th, Ought freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition, the right of the people peaceably to assemble themselves to consult for their own welfare,

and the security of person and of property be maintained and held inviolate, or which of these great chartered rights should now be surrendered to the dark spirit of Slavery? [Adopted unanimously.]

On motion,

Resolved, That a committee of six be appointed to devise and bring before the Convention, a plan that will enable those who feel conscientious scruples in regard to the use of slave-produce, to obtain articles of free labor.

The following persons were appointed the Committee: John Rankin, Joseph A. Dugdale, A. L. Benedict, Charles Neil, W. H. Beecher, Wm. Donaldson.

The Treasurer presented his Report which was placed in the hands of the Auditing Committee.

Joseph A. Dugdale offered the following resolution, which was adopted by acclamation.

Resolved, That as men and christians, we rejoice at the peaceful escape of the slave from his house of bondage, and recognize as imperative and binding on us, the Scriptural injunctions—"Bewray not him that wandereth," "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that has escaped from his master unto thee."

The Executive Committee through Gamaliel Bailey, submitted their Third Annual Report.

On motion of W. H. Beecher, the Report was accepted.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard, the Report was adopted and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Blanchard offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is recommended to the sessions and other officers and members of anti-slavery churches, whose duty it is to examine candidates for admission to the same, that they pass, and publish in the newspapers, as soon as convenient, a resolution to the following effect.:—That we will admit to our communion no candidate for examination who holds slaves, or defends the principles of slavery. [Adopted.]

A. A. Guthrie moved and A. Wattles seconded, the following resolution:

Resolved, That we now proceed to receive the pledges of individuals and Societies to the funds of the State Society.

Recess till 2 o'clock, P. M.

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2 o'clock, P. M.

On motion of E. Weed,

Resolved, That this meeting recommend to the Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the State, immediately to adopt the plan of regular monthly or quarterly subscriptions in aid of the funds of the State Society.

Mr. Beecher submitted the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the Anti-Slavery cause is truly a religious one; and that its unparalleled success in opposition to the most powerful and inveterate hostility, is unquestionably the work of God, and is to be regarded as a signal answer to the prayers of his people.

2. *Resolved*, That the final accomplishment of our holy object must be by the blessing of God on our efforts, and that we earnestly and affectionately entreat all

christians to pray always with all prayer," that God would be pleased to fill our hearts with wisdom, benevolence and holy courage, and render our efforts speedily successful in the entire removal of the system of slavery.

3. *Resolved*, That we regard Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, as a noble martyr in the cause of the freedom of the press, of speech, and of man, and that we revere his honored memory, assume his mantle, and sympathize with his afflicted family.

4. *Resolved*, That we regard the mob at Alton, and the more recent mob at Philadelphia, as furnishing conclusive evidence that the cause of abolition is in direct hostility to the empire of the Prince of Darkness, who has come down in great wrath because [he knoweth that his time is short; and as being to our opponents an evident token of defeat, "but to us of salvation and that of God."

The Committee of Nomination reported, and their report was accepted and adopted.

The Committee on Slave-labor produce, &c., reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the duty of abolitionists in all cases, to give the preference to free-labor products, and to encourage merchants to keep supplies of free-labor goods.

Resolved, That suitable efforts ought to be made to promote the manufacture of beet-sugar and silk.

On motion of J. A. Dugdale,

Resolved, That the resolution of the House of Representatives in Congress, adopted at the session of 1835–6, by which the petitions of *thirty-seven thousand* of our citizens, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the slave-trade between the states, were virtually rejected, was an inexcusable violation of the inalienable right of petition inherent in the people.

Resolved, That we consider the renewal of that resolution at the ensuing session of Congress, by which the memorials of more than one hundred and ten thousand of our countrymen were disregarded, as adding insult to the wrong already committed.

Resolved, That the second renewal of said resolution in the House of Representatives during the present session, by which the petitions of not less than three hundred thousand of the freemen of this republic have been contemptously laid aside, without being debated, printed, read or referred, is an aggravated insult to the people and an outrage on their rights.

Resolved, That we are signally encouraged by the information furnished in the letter of Senator Morris—that 15,000 citizens of Ohio, subsequent to the passage of this gag-resolution, forwarded to him their memorials for presentation.

On motion of Mr. Monteith,

Resolved, That it is the duty of every friend of the anti-slavery cause to contribute liberally for the purpose of sustaining and enlarging our operations—Let the poorest appropriate the value of an hour's labor every week, and others in proportion, and the object will be gained.

The Auditing Committee presented their report, recommending the acceptance of the Treasurer's report. [Accepted.]

The Committee on the affairs of the Philanthropist and Depository, made a verbal report, accompanied with the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Convention believes that it is vitally important to the cause of abolition, in the West particularly, and throughout our country generally, that the Philanthropist be sustained; and that to this end, each member of this Convention will endeavor to procure at least one subscriber, and induce each family in his or her neighborhood to take at least one copy.

Resolved, That we feel increased and abiding confidence in the ability and integrity of Dr. Bailey, its present indefatigable editor.

Resolved, That one thousand dollars of the funds of the Society be appropriated to the use of the Depository in Cincinnati, and that the Executive Committee of the Society be directed to consider the fund as pledged to this purpose exclusively, and so manage it, as to prevent its diminution.

Recess until half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

Half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

Convention called to order by Col. Robert Stewart.

On motion of Wm. Brown,

Resolved, That John Quincy Adams, Wm. Slade, Thomas Morris, Leicester King, and Ben. F. Wade receive the thanks of this Convention for the fearless manner in which they have vindicated the rights of *all* men, and for the eloquence and fixed determination with which they have asserted and maintained the right of petition.

[The foregoing resolution was moved just after the Convention was called to order, and passed almost before the members had time to consider whether it required amendment. We now move an amendment which, we are very sure, will be seconded by every true abolitionist in the State;—we move that the name of J. A. Foote, member of the House of Representatives in this State, for last year, be classed with the other names mentioned in the resolution. His name, we know, was omitted unintentionally.—Ed. Phil.]

G. W. Warner addressed the meeting, presenting the free-will offering of a poor man in his neighborhood.

Rev. Mr. ———, of Mississippi, addressed the Convention, detailing many facts illustrative of the condition of society in Mississippi.

The Committee appointed to devise a more efficient plan of future operations, not having sufficient time to consider all the subjects submitted to them, reported only the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Society are hereby authorized, if they deem it expedient, in order to facilitate their operations, to establish an agency for Northern Ohio, to be called the Northern Agency; and that, for this purpose, they be authorized to appoint an Executive Committee of one or more persons in the vicinity of Cleveland, who may be invested with power to raise funds throughout that portion of the State, lying North of a line to be designated by the State Executive Committee, and who shall co-operate with said Committee in promoting the interests of the State Society.

The report was adopted. Mr. Nye presented the following resolution which was unanimously adopted.

Whereas, Those funds, received into the national benevolent societies of the

church, which arise from the labor of the slave, are in all cases the wages of unrighteousness, in many cases the price obtained for human victims sold in the shambles, and in some cases the price of blood, Therefore,

Resolved, That to receive such funds, obtained by a system of oppression and cruelty committed on souls and bodies for which Christ died, to be expended in propagating the gospel of Christ, is a mockery alike of the principles of reason and revelation, and an act which will bring on our nation the scorn of the christian world, and on our benevolent institutions so receiving the wages of iniquity, the frown of that God who has said, "I hate robbery for burnt offering."

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the citizens of Granville for the kindness and hospitality with which its members have been entertained during its session.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Prayer by John Rankin.

It having been made the duty of the Executive Committee to appoint the time and place of the next anniversary, the Convention now adjourned.

G. WHIPPLE,
GEORGE WARNER, } *Secr'rys.*

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

President.

LEICESTER KING.

Vice Presidents.

Alexander Campbell,
James Gilliland, } *Brown County.*
Asa Mahan, *Oberlin.*
Dr. Bancroft, *Granville.*
Reese E. Price, *Hamilton County.*
Francis Dunlavy, *Warren County.*
Wm. Keys, *Highland County.*
Robert Stewart, *Ross County.*
Samuel Crothers, *Highland County,*
Nathan Galbraith, *Columbiana.*
James Stewart, *Fayette.*
Dyer Burgess, *Adams.*
Abraham Baer, *Starke.*
Wm. R. Hudson, *Geauga.*
Samuel Denny, *Pickaway.*
Benj. Gass, *Richland.*
Orestes K. Hawley, *Ashtabula.*

J. Jolliffe, *Clermont.*
Levi Whipple, *Muskingum.*
J. S. Waugh, *Butler.*
John Walker, *Harrison.*
Daniel Miller, *Seneca.*
Gamaliel Bailey, *Hamilton.*
J. A. Foote, *Cuyahoga.*

Coresponding Secretary.

M. R. Robinson.

Recording Secretary.

Augustus Hopkins.

Treasurer.

William Donaldson.

Managers.

Harman Kingsbury, *Cuyahoga co.*
Isaac Colby, *Cincinnati.*
J. J. Blanchard, *Cincinnati.*
J. C. Clopper, *Cincinnati.*
Christian Donaldson, *Cincinnati.*
John Hunt, *Athens.*
Samuel Moffit, *Ashtabula.*
Nathan Johnson, *Belmont.*
J. B. Mahan, *Brown.*
John Rankin, *Brown.*
Abram Allen, *Clinton.*
Manasseh Baer, *Carroll.*
James Hambleton, *Columbiana.*
H. S. Gillett, *Franklin.*
Uri Seely, *Geauga.*
Rob't. Hanna, *Harrison,*
Rob't. Bell, *Holmes.*
Everton Judson, *Huron,*
Joseph Bryant, *Jefferson.*
W. W. Beebe, *Knox.*
Joseph Riggs, *Scioto.*
J. B. Johnson, *Logan.*
John Monteith, *Lorain.*
Archibald Stewart, *Fayette.*
Timothy Hudson, *Medina.*
Charles Dringan, *Monroe.*
James A. Shedd, *Montgomery.*
Horace Nye, *Muskingum.*
Dr. Blackstone, *Pike.*
Asahel Kilbourn, *Portage.*
P. H. Gallady, *Preble.*
Shelden Guthrie, *Putnam.*
Richard Long, *Ross.*
Samuel McCullough, *Shelby.*
Riverius Bidwell, *Trumbull.*
J. M. Sterling, *Cuyahoga.*
Peter Kirkpatrick, *Licking.*
John G. Rogers, *Clermont.*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

JAS. C. LUDLOW,
CHRISTIAN DONALDSON,
ISAAC COLBY,
J. BLANCHARD,
WM. DONALDSON,
AUGUSTUS HOPKINS,
M. R. ROBINSON,
GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr.,
REESE E. PRICE.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in account with Wm. Donaldson, Treasurer for the year commencing May 6th, 1837, and ending May 30th, 1838.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Cash paid A. A. S. Soc. on Pledge,		$1299 92
" for Books and Publications,		591 00
" Salary of Publishing Agent,		443 37
" " " of Editor,		633 96
" " " of Lecturers,		405 65
" for printing Philanthropist,		3028 75
" for Paper,		1374 31
" Expense of Office, including rent, fuel, &c., &c.		385 10
" Discount on uncurrent money, including counterfeit, &c.,		102 60
" Postage,		125 43
" Colored Schools,		160 19
" Commission for Philanthropist,		9 08
" Binding Reports, &c.,		23 75
' Law expenses, in Birney's case,		75 00
		$8658 11
Amount of Receipts for Philanthropist, Depository, Pledges, &c.,		$7651 95
Balance due the Treasurer, (overdrawn,)		$1006 16
Cash rec'd. on pledges and Philanthropist at Ann'ry.,		$999 60
Balance due the Treasurer,		$6 56

REPORT.

THE THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. GRANVILLE, O., *May* 30, 1838.

AT our last Annual Meeting, we presented a Report, exhibiting a general view of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, and the events that had transpired in connection with its progress. This year a report of a less general character is thought advisable. All that we now design is, to furnish a short history of the most important anti-slavery movements in this State during the year, to take a brief view of the present aspects of abolition generally, and to conclude with a few practical suggestions.

AGENTS.

Since last May four travelling agents have been operating pretty constantly throughout the State. Two of these have acted simply as lecturers; Rev. E. Weed has united the functions of lecturer and financial agent; and Mr. Wattles has devoted himself chiefly to the promotion of the interests of the free colored people. Their letters, published occasionally in the Philanthropist, furnish some idea of the fruits of their labors. The Society is especially indebted to Mr. Weed for his faithful and successful efforts, in raising monies to maintain the operations of the Executive Committee.

A leading object with Mr. Wattles has been, to induce the free people of color to settle more numerously in the country and turn their attention more generally to rural occupations. The education and social elevation of the colored population of the free states, are very justly thought to be objects of vast importance to the cause of Emancipation. The policy of slaveholders is, to effect the entire degradation of this class, so as to give at least the appearance of truth to their continual plea, that the slaves, if emancipated, could not take care of themselves. They are aware too, that slaveholding would appear still more abhorrent, if the free brethren of the slave

should display the full proportions of moral and intellectual beings, and their condition abound in evidences of well-directed effort. The earnest devotion of the spirit of abolition to the free people of color, is one of its most striking and beautiful characteristics. In this respect, it is like the wisdom that comes down from above—without partiality and without hypocrisy. It fearlessly exposes the popular delusion that prejudice against color is invincible, and has no affinity for any scheme, however magnificent, which, under the guise of philanthropy, is directly calculated to gratify and cherish the selfish feelings of a prejudiced people. In the face of a corrupt public sentiment, which would doom the colored man to perpetual degradation or exile from his native land, and brands with odium every attempt to ameliorate his condition, it comes forth in his behalf, and taking him by the hand, lifts him out of the depths of abasement into which the cruel spirit of caste had plunged him; and proclaims to him that even *here* his rights shall be acknowledged, and his interests protected.

Under the operations of this spirit, there has been an evident improvement in the condition and character of our colored population. It has hardly too much to say, that for the last few years almost every project of successful benevolence in their behalf, has originated with abolitionists. Numerous schools for their benefit have been instituted in this state, and are generally under the care of a few abolitionists. Colored people are fast awakening to the importance of having their children educated; they take a deep interest in the prosperity of the schools, and in some cases have assumed the whole burthen of their expenses.

PUBLICATIONS.

The only publications issued by the Committee during the last year, independent of the Philanthropist, are the Annual Report of our Second Anniversary, the Speech of Salmon P. Chase in the case of the colored girl Matilda, an Argument by the same gentleman in the case of the State *vs.* Jas. G. Birney, before the Court in Bank, and a Memorial to the General Assembly respecting the colored people of Ohio. The Speech of Salmon P. Chase, on account of its peculiar importance was widely circulated. Of its merits and its powerful agency in enlightening the public mind on the right of jury-trial in relation to fugitives from labor, it is needless to speak. The production is confessedly a standard one on that subject. The Me-

morial respecting colored people, was prepared in obedience to a vote of the Society last spring, and duly presented to the General Assembly. It embodies a large mass of interesting particulars illustrative of the industry, intelligence and moral worth of persons of color in this State; and it exerted great influence, we have reason to believe, in removing false impressions from the minds of many of our legislators. The Society is under obligations to Augustus Wattles for the preparation of this Memorial.

The Philanthropist is now in its third year. Like every other periodical devoted to the dissemination of unpopular sentiments, it has had to struggle with continual difficulties, and nothing but a deep conviction in the minds of the Committee of its vital importance to the cause of abolition in the West, could have induced them under so many discouragements, to resolve on its continuance. Last January the Committee thought proper to increase at once its size and price, and have a certain portion of it devoted to news and miscellaneous matter. So far the change seems to have given universal satisfaction.

The Committee regard the vigorous support of the Philanthropist as indispensable to the successful prosecution of our enterprise. The utility of local anti-slavery newspapers is now generally understood. Maine has its Advocate of Freedom; Connecticut, its Charter Oak; New Hampshire, its Herald of Freedom; Massachusetts, its Liberator; New York, its Friend of Man, beside the various, important publications, weekly and monthly, issued in New York city; and Pennsylvania, its Christian Witness and Freeman. If the East can support such a number of weekly periodicals, exclusively devoted to the promotion of abolition, is it too much to expect that the West, bordering for many hundred miles on slave-holding states, fearfully exposed to the corrupting influences of slavery, and possessing peculiar instrumentalities for acting efficiently against it,—should sustain at least one anti-slavery paper? Of the important results that have followed the establishment and continuance of the Philanthropist at Cincinnati, we need not speak. We are pleased however to announce, that recently this paper has been received more freely into slave-holding states. Not long since, copies of it were sent to nearly all the newspapers in Kentucky, with the request for an exchange: in a majority of instances, the request was frankly and cheerfully complied with; so that now the Phi-

lanthropist has a considerable exchange list in that State. There is also a prospect of securing several exchanges in Alabama.

The importance of more efficiently supporting the paper, might be shown at greater length, but enough has been said, especially as the subject will again be brought up by the Publishing Agent.

PETITIONS.

The work of petitioning during the past year, has been more actively and extensively carried on than ever. To say nothing of petitions to Congress, at no former period during the abolition era, have so many prayers on anti-slavery subjects gone up to our state legislature. Last year there was comparatively little agitation of this kind. A few petitions were presented, little discussion took place, and only one or two unimportant reports were put forth. Petitioners were treated with no signal respect, and the Assembly appeared scarcely to feel the pressure of anti-slavery sentiment. During the last session, the subject of abolition was frequently under debate. Numerous petitions were presented, praying the legislature to protest against the annexation of Texas, to affirm the constitutional right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, to remonstrate against Mr. Patton's gag-resolution, to repeal the discriminative laws of the State relating to people of color, to secure the jury-trial in all cases involving personal liberty, to pass special protective enactments against mobs, and to vindicate the laws of Ohio by reclaiming the person of Eliza S. Johnson, a colored woman, kidnapped in this State and carried into Kentucky as a slave.

In the Senate the petitions were for the most part referred to select committees, but in the House this courtesy was generally denied. In both they gave rise to many reports, and these again, to much discussion. The reports and the action upon them have been faithfully recorded in the Philanthropist, and all that is necessary here, is briefly to recapitulate the leading facts in reference to them.

Mr. Foote reported a bill, making towns and cities liable for damages done by mobs within their limits. This measure doubtless grew out of the numerous outrages on property, which had become common in the popular warfare against abolitionists; but the whole bill was evidently calculated to be general in its benefits, and to maintain in all cases the majesty of the laws, by fastening responsibility on those who have the power to prevent disorder, and making it the absolute interest of the entire community to protect the

rights of every citizen. It was warmly opposed and as strongly supported, the opposition proceeding on the ground that it was an abolition measure. It was finally postponed until the next session.

Mr. Wade, from the Select Committee, appointed by the Senate on petitions respecting Texas, made a long and spirited report against the annexation of this territory to our Union, concluding with a preamble and resolutions. These, after some modifications, were at length adopted unanimously in the Senate, and with but five dissenting voices, by the House. An effort was subsequently made by Mr. Walton, to induce the Senate to pass a certain kind of apologetic resolutions, designed to assure the South, that Ohio in protesting against the admission of Texas, did not intend any hostility to the system of slavery; but it failed.

Mr. Dunlevy, from the Committee on the abduction-case, made a manly and judicious report, and concluded by recommending the passage of a resolution, requesting the Governor to open a correspondence with the Executive of Kentucky, and to insist upon the restoration of Eliza S. Johnson to freedom. The resolution passed by a vote of 37 to 13. This unfortunate woman was subsequently set at liberty, after five months unjust imprisonment, unrequited for all the bitter wrongs she had suffered.

Mr. Green, from the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, to which had been referred petitions concerning the right of jury-trial, reported adversely to the prayer of the petitioners. The unsoundness of the report was fully shown by a correspondent of the Philanthropist, and subsequently in the celebrated report of Judge King.

This gentleman made an elaborate report on the whole subject of the disabilities of our colored population, and also on the right of trial by jury. It excited profound interest in the Assembly, and a thousand extra copies of it were ordered to be printed. It clearly establishes the unconstitutionality, as well as impolicy and immorality of our present scheme of legislation in regard to people of color. He reported several resolutions appropriate to the report, and a bill for the securement of jury-trial in cases of alleged fugitives from labor. It being near the close of the session, and much important business remaining to be disposed of, the whole subject was laid over for action at the next session.

In the House, Mr. Collings reported on the same subjects, and on a few others referred to the Committee of which he was chair-

man. His report was favorable on the whole to the granting of a jury-trial, condemned Patton's gag-resolution as impolitic and violative of the spirit of the constitution, adopted the modern notion that implied faith to Virginia and Maryland forbids the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and was adverse to repealing or in any way changing the laws of the State in relation to colored people.

Mr. Foote, from the minority of the same Committee, reported a bill for repealing the statute forbidding "blacks and mulattoes" to bear testimony against white persons. In his report he took the general gound that all our discriminative laws relating to people of color, were wrong and impolitic. The bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. Wade, from a select committee, reported favorably to the prayer of petitioners, praying the Assembly to protest against Mr. Patton's gag-resolution. The resolutions he recommended were taken up only two days before the close of the session, and amidst the great pressure of other business, indefinitely postponed.

Mr. Green from the Judiciary Committee in the Senate, to which had been referred petitions praying the Assembly to affirm the constitutional power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, near the close of the session, asked to be discharged from their further consideration. The request was granted, and further consideration postponed till next December.

Thomas Richmond introduced in the House certain resolutions, instructing the auditors of the several counties in the state, to ascertain how much money had been collected from colored persons annually since March 10th, 1831, cast the interest on the whole sum, and report the entire amount of principal and interest to the Auditor of State, on or before the 1st day of December next; so that the same may be submitted to the legislature, and such action had thereupon as "may appear just and proper." The resolutions were readily adopted; and they indicate a reviving sense of justice towards the colored population.

Such is a brief view of the action of the Legislature, on those subjects which peculiarly engage the attention of abolitionists. It will be at once perceived that, while nearly all the important objects respecting which we petitioned remain yet to be accomplished, a great deal nevertheless has been gained. Last year a strong effort was made to re-enforce and aggravate some of the most obnoxious

provisions of our laws relating to the people of color. Such a measure during the late session was too hopeless to be attempted. The tide of injustice, we rejoice to believe, is at length arrested; the current of feeling has set the other way; the legislature begins to feel the pressure of a public opinion, to which it has not been accustomed; hereafter, whatsoever changes may be made in our policy towards the colored people will, no doubt, be dictated and regulated by a regard to the sacred doctrine of equal rights, and the fundamental principles of civil liberty.

The result of our various operations in this State is truly gratifying. True, a less amount of eminent talent has been actively employed than in the Eastern States; some of our most influential men have been transferred to other fields of labor; and there has been but little parade or exhibition for mere effect: but the progress of abolition sentiment has been rapid. We do not know how many societies have been formed since last May; their present number may be estimated at about 300. The multiplication of societies, however, is but one evidence of the progress of our cause. There has been a decided approximation of the public mind to the standard of abolition-sentiment. People have become more awake to the exacting spirit of slave-holders. There is not so lenient a feeling towards slavery, as existed in this State a year ago. Self-respect and a more exalted estimate of what is due to the interests of universal liberty, are beginning to supplant that blind devotion to the South, which seemed eager to sacrifice almost every thing valuable in northern rights for the protection of the oppressor against the voice of rebuke and remonstrance. The impression is becoming more and more general, that slavery must be destroyed. Attempts to fetter the freedom of speech and of the press by legislative enactment are now out of the question; and lynch-law as a means for arresting free inquiry into this great social evil is rapidly becoming unpopular.

It will now be proper briefly to advert to several subjects of more general interest, by which we shall be enabled to form a tolerably correct opinion of the more important aspects of abolition.

TEXAS.

In regard to the projected annexation of Texas, the action of the free states for the most part has been independent, and decidedly favorable to the cause of human rights. It is not unlikely that, had

it not been for the vigorous, well-timed efforts of abolitionists, this measure so fraught with various evil, would before this time have been consummated. Fortunately, their zeal served to direct upon the unhallowed scheme the concentrated attention of the people of the free states; and the noble letter of Dr. Channing to Henry Clay, the indignant voice of remonstrance everywhere uttered by the press, and the solemn protests of legislative bodies, are all the legitimate results of the efforts of men, stigmatized as fanatics or unprincipled intermeddlers. Opposition to the movement, indeed, is not limited to abolitionists, nor does it necessarily depend upon anti-slavery reasons; but the first impulse and main-spring of this opposition are strictly in their nature anti-slavery. It is impossible to tell how many myriads of petitions on this subject have been sent in to Congress. They have made the slave-holder fully aware of the vast obstacles in the way of his wishes. Until thus informed, his movements were overt and bold, but since then they have been marked by more cunning and secrecy. All inquiry, that could in any way throw light on the subject of our perplexed relations with Mexico, and our attitude towards her revolted province, has been carefully repressed. Sometime during the present session of Congress, Mr. Morris moved a resolution, that the Judiciary Committee be instructed to ascertain whether our present laws on the slave-trade were sufficient to prevent the inhuman traffic between this country and Texas: this movement might have led to some unpleasant developments, and accordingly the resolution was laid on the table. The whole South on this question seems united in opposition to the North. The prospect of a few, immediate advantages has blinded her statesmen to the ultimate ruin the accomplishment of their wishes must bring upon the republic. Many of her legislatures have passed strong resolutions in favor of the annexation, and a portion at least of her population appears already to regard Texas as a part of the United States. Much is said about Texas not wishing to be admitted into the Union, and her intention to withdraw her petition for annexation, but this doubtless is designed to lull the fears and the vigilance of the people of the free states. American slaveholders have conquered that territory from Mexico; their darling project for years has been to have it incorporated with our possessions; and it is not to be supposed that they will lightly abandon their purposes, or suffer their tools in Texas to prove traitors to their wishes. The creed of slave-holders on this question may be stated in the empha-

tic language of the Frankfort Commonwealth, (Ky.) In an article concerning Texas, the editor says,—"For ourselves, we have never for a moment doubted the policy which our government should have pursued in relation to Texas. We have heretofore asserted and we repeat it again, that Texas should be made a component part of our country at all hazards—peaceably, if she was willing, and forcibly if she was reluctant."

Sometime in January, Mr. Preston submitted a formal resolution in the Senate having this measure for its object, and gave notice that he would call it up on the third Monday in February. Until lately however, the resolution was suffered to repose quietly on the table; when, Mr. Preston, finding that nothing was to be gained by further delay, concluded to bring forward the subject. His speech on the occasion was singularly free from that spirit of denunciation against abolitionists, so characteristic of the speeches of southern statesmen; from which we infer that these gentlemen are beginning to perceive that they have nothing to gain and much to lose by unseasonable and bitter invective. The resolution of Mr. Preston was again laid on the table, in order to give Mr. Walker an opportunity of speaking to it.

On the whole, it cannot be denied that slave-holders have failed for the present in the accomplishment of their purposes; but, let not the friends of liberty be deceived—the project of Annexation, we are sure, is not abandoned; so that it behoves them to be no less watchful and laborious than ever, to defeat a scheme which, if successful, would entail eternal infamy upon the name of our nation, and demolish, it is to be feared forever, the proud hopes of our republic.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

With regard to slavery in the District of Columbia and Territories, petitions this year have been vastly more numerous than at any former period, and productive of peculiarly important results. We need only allude here to Mr. Slade's celebrated speech on a motion to refer petitions to the committee on the District of Columbia, with instructions to report a bill for the abolition of slavery therein; the prodigious excitement that hereupon ensued; the abrupt withdrawal of Southern members from the House; their consultation in solemn conclave, wherein the various projects, of infraction of the right of petition, pro-slavery amendments to the

Constitution, nullification and secession, were freely considered; their final agreement on a miscalled peace-offering in the form of Mr. Patton's gag-resolution; the servile adoption of this resolution by northern members; the noble protest of John Quincy Adams; and the treasonous letter of Mr. Rhett to his constituents. All these things are fresh in the recollections of the meeting; it is needless therefore to enlarge upon them.

In the Senate, the petitions produced results equally important. Mr. Calhoun, not satisfied with the quietly disrespectful manner in which our petitions had been disposed of, and eager by one bold stroke to annihilate the power of abolitionism, introduced in the Senate a set of resolutions, which may be said to contain the political creed of slavery. Of the nature of these resolutions, of Mr. Morris' antagonist resolutions, of Mr. Clay's declaration of sentiments, and of the details of the action of the Senate upon them severally, it is unnecessry here to speak. All these subjects have been discussed at large in the Philanthropist and various anti-slavery papers. The results of the whole movement have been precisely opposite to what Mr. Calhoun anticipated. Abolitionism is not dead; it lives with renewed life, lives to obtain still more signal triumphs over the sinister arts of statesmen and brute force of savage mobs, and will live till the wail of the captive shall be changed to a jubilee shout, and the clank of a slave's chain shall be heard no more in all our borders.

Let it be remembered, however, that for three years the right of petition has been virtually abrogated by the Congress of the United States. During the whole of this period there has been no distinct, solemn recognition of the sacredness of this right. The question remains undecided, whether the American people may or may not petition and be heard on the subject of a national grievance. In the House, the men whom they have elected to represent their interests, contemptuously throw upon the table the petitions of their constituents without reference, debate, consideration, or even reading; and this they dare still to do, in defiance of the voice of the largest portion of the press of the free states, and the protests of several of their legislatures. The action of the Senate is equally unprincipled. First the question is raised on the reception of a petition,—"shall it be received?" And then this question is on motion laid on the table. Of course the right of petition is tacitly denied.

Why has not Congress the sense to see that it is only deferring

a decision, which must ere long be made. Its present expedients for securing quiet can only be temporary. They fall short of the demands of slave-holders and transcend the principles of northern members. Every body perceives that they are mere tricks designed for present effect. Petitions are multiplying and will multiply. Year after year the tide of feeling will rise higher and higher, and Congress will be inundated with petitions. We know our rights; we can and will maintain them. We know that the right of petition is in chains, and we have pledged ourselves in the sight of God never to rest until it be released. The whole country is thrilling with emotion on the subject. Public meetings, composed of men of all parties have been held; the press has everywhere spoken out in vehement tones of rebuke; and the time will soon come, when the legislature of every free state in the Union shall demand that the petitions of the people be received, read, referred and reported on, as common sense and the constitution imperiously dictate. The real question before Congress is, shall we deny or recognize the right of petition on the subjects of slavery and the slave-trade in the District and Territories? This is the question between slave-holders and non-slaveholders. It must be answered, not evaded. Can permanent peace be secured by a trick? Can a zeal for the rights of others be quenched by the violation of our own? Can the mounting energies of a free people be repressed by insult? Are great questions to be laid asleep by evading them? True policy demands a just exposition and decision of constitutional questions, not their evasion by time-serving subterfuges. Better have no constitution at all, than one the force of whose plainest provisions we seek to counteract or evade by cunning devices. It is unmanly, unstatesman-like, silly, to shrink from the decision of a question which must be decided; and the decision of which may produce excitement the greater, the longer it is postponed. We repeat, Congress must decide this question, and decide it speedily, and decide it in favor of natural and constitutional right.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHURCH.

The developments in the Southern churches for a year past have been of the most painful character. We need not here record the evidences of their frightful degeneracy. Surely, after the pro-slavery resolutions of Southern Methodist conferences, and the vindication of slavery as an institution harmonizing with christianity, by their

leading ministers and editors, there can be no doubt that this church in the South is one of the strong pillars of this stupendous system of robbery. Nay they are determined to place their position beyond all doubt. They wish it understood, that they have no fellowship for any sort of abolitionism—modern or ancient, ultra or moderate. In their eyes the gradualist is no better than the immediateist. Even their apologists in the North meet with a stern rebuke if they venture to express the opinion, that slavery is destined gradually to disappear under the benign influences of christianity. While slave-holding Methodists thus contend for the harmony of their institutions with the spirit of christianity, their leading brethren in the North acquiesce by their silence. Their church periodicals take no note of such heresies; their ruling men whisper no breath of censure; their bishops, presiding in conferences, put resolutions directly aimed to maintain the system of slavery, some of them declaring that it is no moral evil, and yet send forth no word of protest or dissent, manifest not the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction. On the contrary, the chief periodical of the church is devoted to an unrelenting warfare against the only men in the nation who are actively engaged in efforts to bring slavery to an end. Leading conferences in the free states pass resolutions of strong censure against ministers belonging to other conferences on account of their unwearied labors in behalf of the cause of human rights; a candidate for the ministry is rejected, solely because of his abolitionism, and as a necessary condition to ordination, pledges are required in one conference of candidates, that they will not discuss the subject of slavery; in fine, the determination is avowed in high places to put down abolitionists by the most energetic measures.

As to the Presbyterian denomination, it is now generally believed, that independent of the agency of other causes in the proceedings of the last General Assembly, hostility to abolitionism had much to do with the division of the church. But from the late declarations of sentiment so freely made by the New School party in the South, it appears evident that they are quite as devoted supporters of slavery, as their Old School brethren. The abolition act of 1818 is boldly affirmed by their leading writers to be an insult to southern Presbyterians, and they urge the necessity of instructing delegates to insist on its repeal. Christian fellowship with slave-holders on anti-slavery grounds seems entirely out of the question. The price of Union is, clearly, silence and inaction, complete and

perpetual on the question of slavery. Whether the General Assembly which has just risen, has been the scene of a compromise so humiliating and sinful, or whether Presbyterian abolitionists in the free states have maintained on this subject their integrity and independence, is yet to be learned.

From these terrible exhibitions of hostility in our own republic to the great interests of human nature, it is consolatory to turn away our eyes and fix them on a land, whose religion and government have allied themselves to the purposes of God's providence, whose religious men and statesmen have signalized their obedience to the commandments of Heaven, and their devotion to the Rights of Man, by entirely and forever abolishing slavery throughout the wide extent of their empire. Within a year past in Great Britain, the anti-slavery organization has been revived, and is now endeavoring to consummate the work of emancipation so gloriously begun. The impolicy of the apprenticeship system, its repugnance to the strict principles of Immediate Emancipation, the flagrant violation by the planters of many of its provisions intended for the benefit of the apprentices, and the innumerable grievances to which the negro is yet subjected, constitute sufficient reasons with the British abolitionists for urging the immediate abolition of this absurd and injurious system. Already is the subject before Parliament, and the probability is that this body will not long withstand the reiterated demands of a whole people.

The example of Great Britain must prove irresistible in its influences; it exemplifies the genuine spirit of christianity; in it shines forth the moral power of the world; and the providences of God plainly point it out as the glorious harbinger of an era of Universal Liberty.

Let us hope that this proud republic shall not be the last refuge of oppression on earth; that there is still moral power enough among us to overthrow this abomination of desolation. There is danger of dwelling too much on the dark side of our country's history. True, it is hard not to be dejected, not to be filled with grief, mortification and alarm, when the mind is permitted to meditate on transactions which now for many years have blackened the annals of the American people. How can we forget, that in this country, consecrated to liberty by the baptism of blood, the mightiest efforts have been put forth to bring its sons into abject vassalage to slavery? That nothing but mutual distrust, a want of concert, a foreboding of

sinister consequences, has prevented the American people from giving the form of law to the declarations against freedom of discussion made in their primary assemblies—from annihilating by solemn legislative enactment the rights of free thought and expression?

It is not owing to our *virtue*, to a pure, disinterested attachment to the principles of civil liberty, that we are not this day as fallen and degraded, as the subjects of European despotism, whose bondage we so deeply deplore. It is not that as a people, we have regarded more tenderly the liberty of speech and the press, than the tyrants who would fasten their fetters on universal mind. No! We are free simply because we were afraid of each other. If our politicians and civilians could have devised against us a law, that would not indirectly have curtailed their own liberties, that would not with inevitable certainty have prepared the way for violations of their own rights; it is to be feared that long ere this, an American Congress would have sanctioned the resolutions of pro-slavery meetings, and the deeds of ruffian mobs. Alas for our country! It will not do to brood too constantly over the painful scenes that have been enacted among us,—respectable citizens stirring up the vilest elements of society to the work of midnight destruction or open-day-outrage; the sworn supporters of the law, counting as dross the peace and dignity of the commonwealth, and lending the influence of their example and countenance to law-breaking mobs; merchants, prostituting honor, generosity, patriotism, for the sake of southern gold; politicians, calculating with atrocious coolness how far they may venture to trespass on the rights of their fellow-citizens, for the sake of slave-holding votes; statesmen, gravely deliberating in solemn council, how best they may intrench on the sphere of moral effort, how most ingeniously they may fetter freedom of opinion and the right of petition, how most successfully they may roll back the tide of the influences of those very principles which made us a free and an independent nation; christians, holding their peace or apologizing for the oppressor, while the sighing of the needy and the wail of the heart-broken captive are crying mightily to God to come down and deliver; in a word, a nation filled with exceeding madness against the fearless few who dared to insist, that Liberty now and Liberty forever, was the inalienable heritage of every man, bond as well as free.

But let us not be surprised or disheartened at these things. Let

us be amazed rather, that worse acts have not been committed, that darker scenes have not passed before us. Let us be thankful to God, that this day our rights are in less jeopardy than they were one year ago; and that the indications every where around us tell that the redemption of our country draweth nigh. Man is naturally intolerant. The propagation of unpopular opinions has always given rise to persecution. Philosophers may repeat the very reasonable maxim, that "error of opinion may be tolerated so long as reason is left free to combat it," but passion or interest will prove stronger than reason. The philosopher himself, under the influence of perverted feeling, will just as likely turn persecutor as the man who never uttered a striking thought. The American people are men—men of like passions and infirmities with those in other days who sought to exterminate offensive doctrines or opinions, by burning or beheading their adherents. It is not wonderful therefore that they should become persecutors, that they should avail themselves of the power of brute force to beat back opinions at war with their deepest prejudices and apparently their most cherished interests. The only wonder is, that in the face of such an array of interest, political influence, wealth, talent, prejudice, together with the strenuous opposition of really good men, a reformation most odious in popular estimation should have been able to progress rapidly, without an interval of abatement, multiplying its advocates by thousands, and that throughout the stormy conflict, but one instead of a hundred, should have fallen a martyr to the cause of truth. This wonder can only be fully explained by referring reverentially to that Power, who has set bounds to the wickedness of the wicked, that it cannot pass over.

We shall now mention a few facts that furnish grounds of hope to the friends of Universal Liberty.

1. Within one year, there has been throughout the free states generally, a steady re-action in favor of law and order. But human blood was shed, one of America's noblest sons fell a martyr to truth and freedom, ere the Demon of Anarchy faltered in its career. Men slept on the volcano until it broke forth in the desolating scenes of Alton: then they started from their sleep. They, who had spoken before faintly in behalf of the laws, now burned with vehement indignation; and the voice of stern rebuke burst from lips which until now had been sealed as in the silence of death. The crisis had come. The mob-spirit had thrown off all disguise and showed it-

self the same foul, sanguinary and voracious demon that made itself drunk with the blood of human sacrifice in the terrible days of revolutionary France. The American people saw this, and hastened, ere it was too late, to put an end to the extending domination of a power, which had grown in strength and rapacity by reason of their criminal connivance. Their efforts have not been quite unsuccessful. The days of peace seem returning, and on every side may be seen tokens of a reviving regard for the laws. Nothing, however, but the watchful, steadfast, united efforts of the *moral* part of the community can prevent the re-enactment of scenes so dreadful and humiliating.

2. There has been a marked diminution of prejudice against abolitionists. Their doctrines are considered such as reasonable men may entertain, without therefore meriting the appellation of "madmen;" and their character and motives are better appreciated.

3. In the aspects presented by the slave-holding states, there is not a little to encourage us. The South has a conscience that may yet be reached. In the action of many of her state-legislatures, we have noticed enactments of a decidedly moral character, that must have flowed from an enlightened and increasing regard to the interests of morality. They plainly show that the spirit of reform is at work among them, a spirit which, as it gathers light and power from a more familiar acqaintance with those radical principles of reformation which christianity is everywhere disseminating, will soon turn its energies against the whole system of slavery.

4. The dissolution of the Union may now be regarded as a danger almost passed. The Southern press is less violent and menacing in its tone; few public men in the South seem disposed to second the treasonous sentiments of Mr. Rhett; little has been said and less done about a Southern Convention, a majority of the most eminent statesmen of the South being adverse to the measure.

5. The minds of slave-holders generally are more calmly attentive to the discussion of slavery. We trust that they are beginning to see the folly of violent attempts to suppress the discussion of a subject, which the providence of God and the genius of Christianity are forcing on the attention of the world. At no former period during the whole seven years of our anti-slavery warfare, have we been brought into so close contact with Southern mind.

The South indeed appears to be generally receding from the truth on this great question; but it is only in appearance. The very pro-sla-

very ultraism that has become so remarkable, shows that slave-holders are beginning to feel the heavy pressure of abolitionism. No middle ground now will answer the purpose of the determined slaveholder. His ultraism is opposed as much to Gradualism as Immediateism. He pleads not for a temporary, but an eternal slavery. The movements of the abolitionists directly tend to develop the real state of the South. There are undoubtedly two classes of men in that region—those who from motives of interest are resolved to countenance no scheme for bringing slavery to an end, and those who, feeling slavery to be a curse, and yet too timid, or too unenlightened to form a definite plan for its removal, look forward to a day when the providence of God shall effect its extinction. The agitation of the slavery-question has brought out the first class in bold relief; and theirs is the voice that we now hear. They are the men who would smother discussion, and who, breathing out threatenings and slaughter, with an eye of fire and a front of defiance, would frighten the North into tame acquiescence in their unrepublican, anti-christian, inhuman claims. Their voice has been heard first, simply because they were *decided*, and because too they were eager to avail themselves of the jealousies growing out of the anti-slavery excitement, to abate the hostility of the second class to slavery, and prevent forever any efforts on their part for its removal. But the very extremes to which these men of violence are driving their pro-slavery notions, must sooner or later produce reaction among their more irresolute, though less selfish and despotic fellow-citizens. It is not possible, that that this class can long endure that the South, the whole South should stand arraigned before all christendom as the bold, unblushing advocate of perpetual slavery. A voice of dissent, of remonstrance shall yet be heard; a voice of terrible rebuke, in the South itself, shall go up into the ears of men, who, like Calhoun and McDuffie, would magnify and immortalize a monster, on every lineament of which Jehovah has stamped his curse, and for the annihilation of which the fulness of his unutterable attributes is pledged. Anxiously do we wait and hope to hear this noble rebuke. On the enemies of slavery in the South itself, we depend for its abolition. Let them begin to act, and the days of slavery are numbered; and to them, we rejoice to say, the way of access is opening; among them the spirit of free fearless inquiry is already moving. Heaven forbid that we should despair of our country—that we should lift up the voice of bitter, hopeless denunciation against

the slave-states, as if there were no hearts there to be softened, no minds there to be convinced, no souls there to kindle with generous emotions, no consciences there to be enlisted on the side of God and Liberty.

Many more considerations might be adduced to show what little reason there is for distrusting the power of truth, for despairing of the virtue of our fellow-countrymen, for supposing that God has abandoned this republic to a hard and an impenitent heart. But we have said enough—enough to revive the hopes of the Friends of Freedom, and incite them to renewed exertions in behalf of the cause of Universal Liberty.

AN ADDRESS TO THE CHURCHES ON PREJUDICE AGAINST PEOPLE OF COLOR.

BY JOHN RANKIN.

The Church is the light of the world, and the salt of the earth. She is to preach the gospel to every human being, and warn the world against every sin. She is to open her mouth for the dumb, and plead the cause of the poor and needy. She is to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. She is Christ's messenger sent to preach peace on earth, and good will to men. And although she is unhappily divided into various denominations, still she has but one Lord, and one supreme rule of faith and practice. In all her parts she is equally bound to extend benevolence to the poor of all nations, to enlighten and elevate all classes of human beings, and to use suitable efforts to banish every moral evil from the world. Hence an appeal is now made to Christians of all denominations on behalf of the colored people of the United States. And they are humbly entreated for Christ's sake, to hear this appeal.

It is well known that strong prejudice is entertained, by the mass of Society, against the people of color, and greatly to the injury both of their temporal and spiritual interests.

It is now intended to call the attention of all christians to this prejudice, and show that it is most unreasonable, and highly criminal; and that, of course, it ought to be abolished.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR IS MOST UNREASONABLE.

1. It is most unreasonable. This will appear evident to every one who will candidly investigate the grounds from which this prejudice springs. Difference of color, peculiarity of hair and features are made the occasions of prejudicing

men against their fellow-beings. Were difference of color, and peculiarity of hair and features natural evils, rendering the colored people inferior to others, they would form reasons for sympathy, and not for prejudice. If evils they be, they are unavoidable. The Ethiopian can no more change his skin than the leopard can his spots. If there be fault in the color, hair, and features of the African race, it might be charged to Him who formed the Universe. Infinite Wisdom gave the color, and drew the form of every human being. How unreasonable then, to entertain prejudice against the color and form that God has given? Is it not to reproach our Maker?

The color, hair and features of the colored people were not given, as some have supposed, as a mark of Heaven's displeasure, and intended to designate them for degradation and slavery, but as the effects of natural causes. As all sprung from a common parent, the differences of color, hair and features in the human family, must be attributed either to direct miracle, or to the operation of natural causes. He who believes they are to be attributed to miracle, ought to be able to give us the evidence on which his belief is founded. There is no evidence that ever such miracle was wrought. It is absurd to suppose a direct interposition of Almighty power for such a purpose; it is reasonable then to attribute such varieties in the human family to the operation of natural causes.

Man was formed to inhabit every climate, hence it is reasonable to believe that human nature was created susceptible of such constitutonal changes as would best fit him for inhabiting every region of the globe. This is confirmed by facts.

All mankind were created in a common parent, and of course, were originally of one color; but now they possess every shade of color, from the perfectly white to the entirely black. In every climate the inhabitants have a peculiar shade of color; and this peculiar shade is proved to be constitutional by the fact, that it is still propagated after people have changed climates.

Noah's posterity are divided into three great families; in each of these there is great variety of color; in all of them there are the two extremes of white and black, while the great mass in each are partially dark. In Guinea and Senegal, where the heat is excessive, the children of Ham are entirely black. In Abyssinia and Egypt, where the heat is less excessive, they are less dark. The ancient Canaanites, on whom Noah's curse was executed, were the fairer portion of Ham's family, and equally fair with the ancient Hebrews. "A colony of Ethiopians who were settled at Colchis, on the Black Sea, two thousand years ago, have now become white." The Jews, descendants of Shem and of Abraham, "are white in Germany and Poland, swarthy in Spain and Portugal, olive in the Barbary states and in Egypt, and black in Hindostan. The largest portion of white people descended from Japhet, and yet he has black children in his family. The Portuguese who settled on the coast of Africa a few hundred years since, are now black. The children of Shem and Japhet become black in hot climates, just as soon as the children of Ham.

Horne, in his Introduction to a Critical Knowledge of the Scriptures, thus answers the objection to the Mosaic history, founded on the difference of color in the human family. "In order to invalidate the Mosaic history, it has been

contended, that if all mankind sprung from Noah, the second parent of the human race, it is impossible to account for the origin of the *blacks*, if the patriarch and his wife were *white*. But this difference in color does not invalidate the narrative of Moses: for it has been ascertained that the influence of climate, and the local circumstances of air, water, food, customs, &c., are sufficient to account for the dissimilarity which is discovered in the appearance of different nations. If dogs, taken to the frigid zone, grow shaggy; and if sheep, transported to the torrid zone, exchange their wool for hair, why may not the human species gradually partake of the influence of climate? as experience shows it does. The testimony of M. De Pages, who himself experienced this change, is particularly worthy of notice. In his travels round the world, during the year 1767—1771, speaking of his passage over the Great Desert, he says, 'The tribes which frequent the middle of the Desert, have locks somewhat crisped, extremely fine and approaching the woolly hair of the negro. *My own*, during the short period of my travels in those regions, *became more dry and delicate than usual*, and receiving little nourishment from a checked perspiration, *showed a disposition to assume the same woolly and frizzled appearance:* an entire failure of moisture, and the excessive heat of climate by which it was occasioned, seemed to be the principal causes of those symptoms; my blood was become extremely dry, and *my complexion at length differed little from that of a Hindoo or Arab.*' "

"Man was formed to reside in all climates." "Man," says an eminent naturalist, [Count Buffon,] who was by no means a bigot in favor of Scriptural history, "though *white* in Europe, *black* in Africa, *yellow* in Asia, and *red* in America, is still the same animal, tinged only with the color of climate. Where heat is excessive, as in Guinea and Senegal, the people are perfectly black; where less excessive, as in Abyssinia, the people are less black; where it is more temperate, as in Barbary and and Arabia, they are brown; and where mild, as in Europe and Lesser Asia, they are fair." "In further corroboration of the influence of climate on the human complexion, we may remark, that there is a colony of Jews, who have been settled at Cochin on the Malabar coast from a very remote period, of which they have lost memory. Though originally a fair people from Palestine, and from their customs preserving themselves unmingled, they are now become as black as the other Malabarians, who are scarcely a shade lighter than the negroes of Guinea, Benin or Angola. At Ceylon, also, the Portuguese who settled there only a few centuries ago, have become *blacker* than the natives; and the Portuguese who settled near the Mundingoes, about three hundred years since, differ so little from them as to be called *negroes*, which they resent as a high indignity."

In short, to adopt the memorable conclusion of the indefatigable philosopher above cited, who deduced it after minute inquiries, from a great number of the best attested observations: "From every circumstance proof may be obtained, that mankind are *not* composed of species essentially different from each other; that, on the contrary, there was originally but one individual species of men, which, after being multiplied and diffused over the whole face of the earth, underwent various changes from the influence of climate, from the difference of food, and the mode of living, from epidemical disorders, as also from the intermixture, varied *ad in-*

finitum, of individuals more or less resembling each other; that these alterations were at first less considerable and confined to individuals; that afterwards, from the continued action of the above causes becoming more general, more sensible, and more fixed, they formed varieties of the species; and that these varieties have been and still are perpetuated from generation to generation, in the same manner as certain disorders and certain maladies pass from parents to their children."

The conclusion of this eminent naturalist, founded upon accurate observation, is in exact accordance with Divine Revelation. The Scriptures teach that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Acts, xvii. 26. As man was designed to dwell on every part of the earth, it was necessary that he should be formed susceptible of such constitutional changes as would fit him for every climate. The Ethiopians, Jews, and Greeks, are alike recognized as men. Hence the efforts of some anatomists to prove that the negroes are not of the human species, are direct attacks upon the Bible. The Holy Spirit commanded Philip to join the chariot of "a man of Ethiopia," a Negro. He obeyed, taught him, and baptized him in the name of the Lord Jesus. Acts viii. 26–38. A difference of formation in the head or brain can no more prove an absolute difference of species, than a difference in the formation of any other parts of the body. Some are born with six fingers on each hand; no one on earth can account for the fact, and yet who would be stupid enough to contend, that persons who have six fingers on each hand are not human beings because of a different formation from others. There may be a vast variety of formation of the human body, without destroying the essential constituents of human nature.

The Scriptures not only teach the variety of the species, but assume it as a fact that the sun changes the color of the skin. Can. i. 6. "*Look not upon me because I am black; because the sun hath looked upon me my mother's children were angry with me.*" The meaning is, because the sun has looked upon me so as to make me black, my mother's children were angry with me. The complaint is, that the anger of the mother's children against their sister, was unreasonable, because her blackness was occasioned by the rays of the sun, and not by her own fault.

It is well known that a few days exposure to the sun will make a very sensible change in the color of the skin, and that the longer the exposure is continued the more deeply sensible will be change. It is generally well known that it requires much longer time to remove, than to contract a tinge of the skin.

It has been ascertained, that color exists in the rays of light. There are seven kinds of colored rays. The color of a body depends on the kind of rays it reflects. The body that is co constituted as to reflect the red rays is red, that which is so constituted as to reflect the blue rays, is blue; and that which is so constituted as to reflect alike all the colored rays, is white. It is found by experiments, that white is an amalgamation of all the original colors. The body that is so formed as to absorb all the rays, is black. The skin of the white man is so constituted by climate and manner of living, that it reflects the rays of light, and this is the reason why he is white. The skin of the black man is so constituted by climate and manner of living, as to absorb the rays of light, and

this is the reason why he is black. The skin is composed of three layers, called the cuticle, the rete mucosum, and the cutis. The cuticle is semi-transparent, and the cutis is white. These are of the same color in all men of every climate. The rete mucosum is a soft mucous substance, and is susceptible of change by the action of climate. In excessively hot climates it becomes thick, and like black paint absorbs the rays; consequently the skin is black. Other climates so operate upon the rete mucosum as to cause a partial reflection of the red rays, and consequently, the skin has a red appearance. Under the action of European climates it becomes so thin as to be scarcely perceptible, and is so constituted as to permit the reflection of the rays, and consequently the skin is white. It is then, the action of the various climates upon the rete mucosum that causes the varieties of color in the human species.

When people from a fair climate settle in a black climate, the rete mucosum becomes gradually changed by excessive heat, so as to obstruct the reflection of the rays, and under the continued action of the same causes still more of the rays are absorbed, and fewer reflected; hence the skin grows continually darker. The constitution becomes habituated to those secretions by which the rete mucosum is rendered thick and dark, and a natural result is, that a tendency to such secretions is propagated in the offspring, just as when the constitution has long been habituated to disease, a tendency to such disease is propagated in the offspring. The change in the rete mucosum is no doubt effected by a change in the secretions, and these changed secretions become habitual, and in this way the color becomes permanently changed, and is propagated in the offspring. Thus the Portuguese who settled in Africa a few centuries since, became gradually darker from generation to generation until they have become as black as the natives.

When people are removed from black to fair climates they gradually become less black, until they assume the color peculiar to such climates. Hence the colored people of the United States, notwithstanding their continued exposure under a relentless system of oppression, are less dark than the native Africans, although unmixed with the European race. It has been justly remarked by careful observers, that the fourth and fifth American generations purely of African blood, are sensibly nearer to the color of Europeans than are the native Africans. Under more favorable circumstances they would doubtless have made greater advances towards a fair complexion.

The process from black to white is much slower than that from white to black. The causes that produce a fair skin are counteracted by opposing causes. The action of the sun in every climate tends to darken the complexion. It requires protection from the sun in the fairest climates to produce and sustain an entirely fair skin. In the most favorable climates the skin, by a few days exposure to sun, will contract a tinge that months will not remove. Hence it is evident that the process from black to white is against strong tendencies, and must of course, be exceedingly slow, yet a black people residing in a fair climate will ultimately become white. This is proved by the fact, that people purely of African blood, are in the United States, continually becoming lighter in complexion.

From the statements made, and the facts presented, we may safely conclude that man was created susceptible of receiving his color from climate, and that no one shade of color is more natural to human nature than another.

There is no shade of color in the human family that is not beautiful in itself, and admired when attached to other objects. The white, the red, the olive, the brown and the black, are all admired in cloth, and why not equally so in the human skin? It is exceedingly difficult to determine which is the more admired the perfectly white, or the entirely black dress. Certain it is, that the beauty of the black is not so easily tarnished as that of the white. Why should we admire the black glossy dress, and despise the black skin that is infinitely more curiously wrought? The skin is but the dress which God has thrown over the human frame. As a kind father dresses out his daughters in white, red, olive, brown and black, while he esteems them all alike his children, so the good Father of the Universe has dressed out his children in colors according to the various climates in which they dwell. All are beautiful; why should they despise one another?

The peculiarity of the hair and features is also to be attributed to natural causes. It is found that tribes who live in distinct climates, and who do not intermarry, have each, hair, eyes and features peculiar to themselves. For instance, the Indians have all coarse, strait, black hair, their eyes are of one color, and they have the same general features. The fairest climates produce red and white hair, and those less fair produce dark and black hair. Hence the European nations, being mingled together have hair variously colored. In a single family may be found red, white and black hair. This is owing to the amalgamation of people from various climates. That some should have red and white hair, and others black hair, is just as unaccountable as that the African race should have woolly hair. Originally, there was but one kind of hair; for all sprung from a common parent. One climate so forms the constitution as to produce red hair; another so forms it as to produce white hair, and another so as to produce not only black but woolly hair. All these facts exist, and they prove that the differences of hair and features are the results of natural causes.

The color, hair and features of the African race then are not marks of Heaven's displeasure, as many have ignorantly supposed, but the results of natural causes. Hence, to indulge prejudice against colored people is extremely unreasonable.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE HIGHLY CRIMINAL.

II. The prejudice against the colored people is highly criminal.

1. It is a palpable violation of the law of love. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself:' no allowance is made for the color of our neighbor's skin. The white neighbor, the red neighbor, and the black neighbor are alike to be the objects of our affection. This is evident from the Saviour's interpretation of the law and the prophets. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." No man would desire to have others to indulge such prejudice against him, and consequently, no man can indulge such prejudice against another without violating the Divine law.

2. Such prejudice is against the example of God and other holy beings. God is declared to be "no respecter of persons. But in every nation, he that feareth Him and worketh righteousnes, is accepted with Him." The Saviour, when on earth, readily associated with the poorest and most degraded classes of human beings. The holy angels attended upon the poor beggar Lazarus, and carried his departing spirit to Abraham's bosom. Philip, by the command of the Holy Spirit, associated with "a man of Ethiopia," a negro, just as freely as if he had been white. The Apostle James says, "My brethren have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, with respect of persons. For if there come into your assembly, a man with a gold ring, and goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment: *and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say to him, sit thou there in good places; and say to the poor, stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool; are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?—If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' ye do well; but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors.*" James ii. 1—4, 8, 9.

Thus reasons an inspired Apostle. If prejudice against poverty and vile raiment be sinful, how much more sinful is prejudice against a colored skin, the very clothing which God himself made, and dyed by the arrangements of his providences. If it be criminal to refuse a man a seat, or to set him under our footstool, because of vile raiment, which may be the fruits of idleness and crime, how much more criminal to refuse a man a seat, or to set him under our footstool because God has given him a colored skin?

3. This prejudice tends to the most cruel oppression. It has shut up from the colored people the bowels of compassion. In most of the states it has deprived them of the rights of citizenship, the advantages of the learned professions, and the benefits of the mechanical arts. It has denied them the privileges of colleges and common schools in which to educate their children. It has shut them out of the temple of God, and taken from them the key of knowledge that opens the gate to eternal life. It has organized a powerful society to cast them ignorant and hungry upon a foreign shore, to fall a prey to inveterate disease.* It has enacted against

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* That this prejudice gave birth to the Colonization Society there can be no reasonable doubt. Why colonize Africans more than Europeans, if there be no prejudice against color? It is well known that Colonizationists affirm, that the prejudice against the colored population is so great that they never can be elevated in this country. It is this prejudice that denies colored Americans a comfortable home in their native land, and compels their consent to go to Liberia. Few, if any, would go thither, were they permitted to enjoy their rights in this country. Thus it is evident that the Colonization Society owes its existence to prejudice. That many engaged in that enterprise were actuated by benevolent motives, is readily admitted.

Two years since Elder Swan, while attending the General Assembly at Pittsburg, examined some adult slaves, who were then on their way to Liberia;—five out of six could not tell him who made them. These are some of the missionaries who are to enlighten Africa.

That they suffer hunger is stated in several communications from Liberia.

the colored people cruel and oppressive laws. And it is a prominent pretext for holding near three millions of them in abject slavery, and destroying the very end of their being as rational creatures. A Tennessee paper asserts that, in a single year, sixty thousand slaves were driven on their way to market, through a single western town. How vast must be the number of human beings sold every year in this far-famed land of liberty!! Hundreds of thousands are annually torn from all that is dear on earth. Husbands and wives, parents and children are forever separated from each other! Even the clinging babe is torn, by the rude hands of the stranger, from its mother's bosom! Rivers of sorrows flow and millions of groans ascend to Heaven! The very lamp of life is extinguished, and thousands upon thousands descend to endless night! Still this relentless prejudice, dark fiend of hell, cried they shall not be free among us! They shall not be free among us!!

Surely such prejudice is one of the blackest crimes of the human heart. It ought to be, and it can be abolished. Let Divine truth be wielded against it, and it will vanish away as darkness before the rising sun. The sword of the spirit can cut it up root and branch, and drive it from the earth. To the shame of the gospel ministry, the truth has seldom been brought to bear on this blackest of human crimes. Millions have indulged it without reproof, and few seem to have thought it criminal. On this point the watchmen of all denominations have long slumberrd—let them now awake and show the people that this prejudice is hatred to our brother, that it always oppresses the poor, and that "*he that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker.*" Let the duty of loving our neighbor, without respect to his color, be carefully inculcated both by precept and example. Let all be made to feel that they cannot inherit the kingdom of God while they entertain a prejudice ruinous to their fellow men, and soon the rights of the poor colored people will be restored to them, and they will be owned and cherished as brethren.

How great has been the sin of both ministers and people in fostering a prejudice that consigns to ruin millions of immortal beings! How inconsistent is our conduct,—we rear up great Missionary institutions to convert the heathen abroad, and make annually sixty thousand heathen at home! We may safely say that we make a thousand heathen at home for every ten we convert abroad. I cannot

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One of these is a letter from John Moore, published some time since inthe Philanthropist.

That a large number fall a prey to inveterate disease, is a fact that cannot be denied.

Forty persons liberated by General Blackburn, of Virginia, and sent to Liberia, were in less than one year reduced in number to twenty-three, by the inveterate diseases of that climate. Seventeen out of the forty died in less than twelve months after their arrival, and these too were of the prime of the company. This is only one of the many painful facts that might be presented as evidence of the dreadful mortality attendant upon colonization in Africa. All that have perished by the scheme have been the victims of cruel prejudice, and their blood will be required at the hand of the United States. All who indulge this prejudice are personally guilty of causing the death of their fellow-men. Ought colonization to be carried on at so great a sacrifice of human life?

but weep while I record the painful and shameful fact. O that I could persuade my christian brethren, of all denominations, to make immediate and persevering efforts to abolish a prejudice that involves millions in utter ruin. O look at the appalling fact, that three millions in our land are denied the privilege of learning to read the Sacred Scriptures!! And to these sixty thousand will be added every year with their increase. Soon the annual increase will be hundreds of thousands. In behalf of these perishing millions I appeal to the whole Christian Church in this nation, and in the name of Christ, brethren, I beseech you as you desire to find mercy, to have mercy on your oppressed fellow beings! Do open your mouths for the dumb, do plead the cause of the poor and needy.